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NODIS CHEROKEE

FROM VANCE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: AO, CG, US

SUBJ: VANCE-MOBUTU: ANGOLA: SECOND MEETING, JULY 20

REF: KINSHASA 6688

1. AS PREARRANGED, I MET AGAIN WITH MOBUTU THIS MORNING AT 0900. HE HAD GENERALS BAIBA AND MOLONGIYA WITH HIM. I BROUGHT CUTLER, WALKER (SOON TO BE CHARGE), METHVEN AND MATSUI. DISCUSSION CENTERED ON FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. AID ZAIRE HAS THUS FAR GIVEN TO HOLDEN.

B. STATUS AT "THE FRONT" IN ANGOLA AND HOLDEN'S PROPOSED NEXT MOVES.

C. MOBUTU'S OVER-ALL VISION OF HOW ANGOLAN CRISIS SHOULD BE RESOLVED.

D. GOZ REQUEST FOR URGENT ASSISTANCE FROM THE US.

2. MOBUTU WENT OVER AGAIN THE DETAILS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE THAT HE HAS THUS FAR GIVEN TO HOLDEN: OF GOZ RESERVE OF SEVEN "BELGIAN BATTALIONS" (ONE THOUSAND MEN PER BATTALION), MOBUTU HAS GIVEN FNAL SUFFICIENT SMALL ARMS AND SUPPORT EQUIPMENT TO EQUIP SIX BATTALIONS. IN ADDITION, MOBUTU HAS SENT HEAVY EQUIPMENT WITH FNLA COLUMN REPORTED REFTEL AND PARA THREE BELOW. MOBUTU REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE HAD DIPPED INTO HIS STOCKS TO THE POINT WHERE SECRET

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ZAIRE ITSELF IS NOW IN AN "EXTREMELY VULNERABLE POSITION".

- 3. THE STATUS AT THE FRONT IN ANGOLA: MOBUTU SIGHED AND REPEATED THAT IF HOLDEN HAD FOLLOWED HIS ADVICE CAXITO WOULD NOW BE IN FNLA HANDS. INSTEAD, HOLDEN'S MEN HAD BEEN SCARED OFF BY CUBANS, PORTUGUESE AND MOZAMBIQUANS REPORTEDLY SIGHTED AT CAXITO. FNLA THUS TOOK ONLY BARRA DO DANDE, BUT MOBUTU SAID THAT FNLA HAS AGREED TO RETURN TO CAXITO FRONT TODAY TO ATTEMPT CAPTURE OF THIS KEY LOCATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, MOBUTU SAID HE HAD GIVEN ORDERS LAST NIGHT TO SEND FOUR FRENCH-MADE PANHARD ARMORED VEHICLES TO BOLSTER THE FNLA MOVE AT CAXITO. THE IDEA IS TO CONTROL KEY LAND ACCESS ROUTES TO LUANDA AT CAXITO AND BARRA DO DANDE WHILE MPLA IS PINNED DOWN IN LUANDA BY FNLA TROOPS REMAINING IN THEIR STRONGHOLDS.
- 4. MOBUTU'S VIEW OF OVER-ALL STRATEGY FOR ANGOLA FOLLOWS: HE SAID HE "HAS CHANGED HIS MIND" AND NO LONGER BELIEVES THAT HOLDEN COULD OR SHOULD END UP AS PRESIDENT IN ANGOLA. "IF EITHER NETO OR HOLDEN WINS MILITARILY -- THE OTHER SIDE WILL NOT ACCEPT THE OUTCOME AND THE RESULT WILL BE A CONTINUING BLOODBATH". WHAT WE MUST DO, ACCORDING TO MOBUTU, IS TO MAKE HOLDEN STRONG AGAIN, CAPITALIZE ON HIS CONTROL OF NORTHERN ANGOLA AND PUSH AT LEAST FOR A MILITARY STALEMATE WITH THE GOAL OF INSTALLING SAVIMBI AS THE COMPROMISE CHIEF OF STATE. PARENTHETICALLY, MOBUTU SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD CHOSEN THIS MOMENT TO GO FOR BROKE BECAUSE THEY CALCULATED THAT MOBUTU WOULD BE UNABLE TO MOVE GIVEN WHAT THEY SAW AS HIS PROBLEMS WITH THE US AND ZAIRE'S CURRENT FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES.
- 5. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, MOBUTU SAID HE DID NOT CONSIDER SAVIMBI AS IMPORTANT MILITARILY. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD ALREADY PROVIDED SOME ASSISTANCE TO HIM, NOTABLY \$40,000 IN MONEY AND SUCH ITEMS AS CLOTHING AND BLANKETS. HE DID RPT DID BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR US TO HELP SAVIMBI AND THOUGHT KAUNDA WOULD PROBABLY AGREE TO FACILITATE ARMS SHIPMENTS TO SAVIMBI IF WE ASKED HIM TO. HE COMMENTED FURTHER THAT KUANDA CONTINUED TO FAVOR SAVIMBI AS THE BEST POLITICAL COMPROMISE IN ANGOLA, WHEREAS NYERERE STILL BACKED NETO. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, SECRET

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THAT KAUNDA DID NOT APPEAR TO HAVE STRONG VIEWS OF HIS OWN AND MIGHT BE INFLUENCED ON THIS MATTER BY NYERERE.

6. MOBUTU THEN TURNED TO THE KINDS AND TIMING OF US ASSISTANCE URGENTLY REQUIRED TO RIGHT THE BALANCE IN ANGOLA. HE SAID THE ONLY WAY TO GET THE NECESSARY ARMS INTO HOLDEN'S HANDS IN TIME WOULD BE FOR THE US TO SEND ZAIRE AMERICAN EQUIPMENT, THUS PERMITTING HIM

TO RELEASE FURTHER ARMS NOW IN HANDS OF HIS OWN TROOPS.

MOST URGENTLY, MOBUTU ASKED FOR FIVE THOUSAND M-16'S TO
REPLACE BELGIAN RIFLES NOW HELD BY HIS PARATROOPS WHICH
HE IS PREPARED TO SEND IMMEDIATELY TO FNLA. HE STATED
CATEGORICALLY THAT NO US ARMS WOULD APPEAR IN ANGOLA.
IN ALL, MOBUTU WANTS US TO SUPPLY EQUIPMENT FOR TEN
BELGIAN-STYLE BATTALIONS, EUROPEAN ARMS FOR FIVE WHICH
WOULD GO TO HOLDEN ROBERTO, ARMS FOR REMAINING FIVE WOULD
BE AMERICAN AND WOULD REPLINISH HIS NOW SERIOUSLY DEPLETED
RESERVE.

7. GENERALS BABIA AND MOLONGIYA WILL MEET WITH METHVEN, MATSUI, AND BUCKLEY TOMORROW MORNING TO GO OVER DETAILS OF GOZ REQUEST, AT WHICH TIME THEY WILL CLARIFY THE PRECEDING PARA. I WILL SEE MOBUTU AGAIN TOMORROW AFTER I GET REPORT FROM THE GENERALS AND OUR TEAM. ANDREW

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